

NEW YORK HERALD.

JAMES GORDON BENNETT, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR. OFFICE N. W. CORNER OF FULTON AND NASSAU STS. TERMS cash in advance. Money sent by mail will be at the risk of the sender. None but bank bills current in New York taken. THE DAILY HERALD, published every day in the year, Four cents per copy. Annual subscription price, \$15. The CALIFORNIA EDITION, on the 1st and 15th of each month, at six cents per copy, or \$3 per annum. ADVERTISEMENTS, to a limited number, will be inserted in the WEEKLY HERALD, the EUROPEAN and CALIFORNIA EDITIONS. NO NOTICE taken of anonymous correspondence. We do not send rejected communications. Volume XXX, No. 360. AMUSEMENTS THIS EVENING. BROADWAY THEATRE, Broadway—Moss—Sax. LUCY RUSSETT'S NEW YORK THEATRE, Nos. 78 and 79 Broadway—The School—No. 360. ACADEMY OF MUSIC, Irving Place—Theatre Francaise—The Ladies Battle—La Fille du Domino. NEW NATIONAL CIRCUS, 37 and 39 Broadway—Buckley—The Circus—No. 360. SAN FRANCISCO MINSTRELS, 53 Broadway, opposite Metropolitan Hotel—Ethiopian Minstrels, Danzig, &c.—The Jingo Band. TONY PASTOR'S OPERA HOUSE, 201 Broadway—Sings, Dances, Burlesques, &c.—The Demon's Revel, Madame at 2 1/2 o'clock. GEORGE CHRISTY'S MINSTRELS—The Old School, by Minstrel, Hallam, Mendel, &c.—at the Fifth Avenue Opera House, No. 2 and 4 West Twenty-fourth St. DEWITT'S MINSTRELS, Mechanics Hall, 47th St. THEATRE COMIQUE, late Hope Chapel, 72 Broadway—The American Hero of Niagara Falls. HOLEY'S OPERA HOUSE, Broadway—Ethiopian Minstrel, Hallam, Mendel, &c.—The Jingo Band. NEW YORK MUSEUM OF ANATOMY, 61 Broadway—Open from 10 A. M. till 10 P. M. ART GALLERY, 55 Broadway—Huntington's Great Painting. STUDIO BUILDING, 15 West Street—Exhibition of French, English and Flemish Pictures. COOPER INSTITUTE, Astor Place—Stephen's Market (James Piers of Presville)—"Drifting Aspects."

NEW YORK, Wednesday, December 27, 1865.

ADVERTISEMENTS FOR THE COUNTRY.

Advertisements for the WEEKLY HERALD must be handed before ten o'clock every Wednesday evening. Its circulation among the enterprising mechanics, farmers, merchants, manufacturer, and gentlemen throughout the country is increasing very rapidly. Advertisements inserted in the WEEKLY HERALD will thus be seen by a large portion of the active and energetic people of the United States.

THE NEWS.

Provisional Governor Sharkey, of Mississippi, has been relieved by the President, and Governor Humphreys has been directed to assume the duties of Executive of that State. Five of the seven Provisional Governors appointed by the President have now been removed by him to make way for the gentlemen elected as their successors by the people—John A. Bama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Mississippi. General Crook has given orders, in the case of two negroes recently sentenced in the county court at Wilmington, North Carolina, to be sold into slavery for five years, for larceny, that the sentence must be carried into execution, on the ground that no law can be enforced which makes a distinction between white and black criminals. The District Superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau has ordered a revocation of sentence, in default of which the members of the court are to be placed under arrest. The North Carolina sheriffs have been instructed, by direction of the President, not to enforce the collection of the tax levied by the constitutional convention. A man named Waring, editor of a paper at Charlotte, has been arrested by order of General Sager, on account, it is supposed, of the distasteful character of articles in his journal. No accounts have yet reached us of any formidable attempts on the part of the negroes in the Southern States to effect a realization of the apprehensions of fearful outbreaks by them on Christmas day which were entertained by the white people. In Norfolk, Virginia, a negro attacked a policeman with a club, and was shot; in Manchester, on the James river, opposite Richmond, a party of colored men surrounded a double the jail and forced the release of two colored prisoners, and in Alexandria negroes were engaged in riotous proceedings, in which several persons are reported to have been shot; but there does not appear to have been concert of action in these separate cities. In Wilmington, North Carolina, there were fights between the whites and blacks, which assumed the proportions of a riot, calling into requisition the services of the police and troops, who arrested about one hundred negroes; but the telegraphic despatches state that there was no evidence of any organized movement on the part of the latter.

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generally content with the new order of things, by which new life and spirit had been infused among them. The special claims of Minnesota to the attention of persons desiring to emigrate to that State, on account of its salubrious climate, fertile soil, extensive water power, abundance of timber, &c., have been ably advanced by our St. Paul correspondent. He endeavors to dispel the misapprehensions of Eastern people of the general impression that Minnesota winters are excessively severe. That the temperature carries the mercury down to a very low degree, the peculiar dryness and dryness of the atmosphere renders the cold quite endurable, and makes the State an excellent place of residence for invalids. A meeting of the Board of Supervisors took place yesterday, at which a resolution to pay District Attorney Hall \$5,556 12 for money disbursed from his office during the last six months was adopted. A report from the Commissioners of Harlem Bridge showed that of the \$270,000 appropriated for the work in 1865, \$154,007 92 still remains unexpended. The Board of Aldermen met yesterday afternoon. A communication was received from the Board of Councilmen calling the attention of the Mayor and Street Inspector to the filthy condition of the public thoroughfares. The Committee on National Affairs was directed to procure a stand of colors for the Eleventh regiment of the State National Guard. Resolutions were adopted directing the Comptroller to pay the bill of Messrs. J. G. I. Edge, amounting to seventeen thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars, for fireworks furnished on the Fourth of July last, and ordering the completion of the soldiers' monument in Calvary Cemetery. The Mayor was requested to offer a reward of one thousand dollars for the apprehension of the forger of Daniel Claffy, the victim of the Lion Brewery fraud of last summer. Considerable other business of a routine character was transacted, and the Board adjourned till two o'clock this afternoon.

The Board of Councilmen met yesterday and received a large number of papers from the Board of Aldermen, which were laid over. A resolution directing the Council to the Corporation to take the necessary legal proceedings for widening and extending Ann and Fulton streets was laid over. A resolution was adopted providing that Charles Street, between Fourth and Bloeker streets, be hereafter designated "Van Ness place." Two vetoes were received from the Mayor refusing his signature to resolutions in favor of increasing the salary of the Second Assistant Clerk in the Finance Department, and directing twenty-five hundred copies of railroad grants and ferry leases to be printed. The Board adjourned to meet this afternoon.

The Hopper will case, which has been in litigation for four years past, was finally settled by the Court of Appeals, on the 26th inst., affirming the decisions of the courts below, all the judges agreeing. The property involved amounts to some two hundred thousand dollars, and in the alleged will of Mr. Hopper was bequeathed to the American Seaman's Friend Society and the Ladies' Union and Society of the Methodist Episcopal church of the city of New York. The heirs-at-law of Mr. Hopper contested the will on the grounds of undue influence and the want of mental capacity on the part of the testator. After hearing the testimony in the case the Surrogate refused to admit the will to probate, and it was carried on appeal to the general term of the Supreme Court, where the decision of the Surrogate was affirmed. It was then carried to the Court of Appeals, with the result above mentioned.

In the United States Circuit Court yesterday, before Judge Shipman, George White and Daniel O'Brien were indicted on a indictment charging them with creating a mutiny on the American ship "Thomas Dunham," on board of which they were seamen, in the month of November last. The accused were remanded for sentence. A number of persons were arraigned before Judge Shipman and pleaded not guilty to indictments for various offences, principally counterfeiting national currency. The summing up of counsel in the Strong divorce case was completed yesterday in the Superior Court, Judge Garvin presiding. The interest of the public in the arguments seemed to be as great as that manifested in the testimony, the court room being crowded with the curious and jamming and pushing for admittance of the untried outsiders is fierce, as on preceding days of the trial. Counsel for the defence commenced speaking at about eleven o'clock, and continued up to quarter past four, when the court adjourned. The argument for the defence will be concluded to-day.

Further particulars of the late Brooklyn tragedy, together with the statement of an eye-witness, are given in our paper this morning. It appears, from a confession made by Russ to other powers, that he premeditated the murder of Miss Dayton ten days prior to the attempt, and to effect that purpose purchased a revolver; pistol. He was visited at the Brooklyn Hospital yesterday by numerous friends, with all of whom he conversed. His condition is reported to be such that he is capable of making certain indications would seem not to warrant this conclusion. Miss Dayton was dying very well evening. Lieutenant Governor Morris, son of General William W. Morris, whose death was chronicled in the HERALD of 18th inst., died at Fort Henry, Baltimore, on Monday last, in the twenty-fourth year of his age. Lieutenant Morris enlisted as a private in the Fifth New York heavy artillery at the commencement of the rebellion, and served throughout the war. A fire, the origin of which has not yet been ascertained, was discovered burning between eight and nine o'clock yesterday morning in the cellar of the four-story building 188 Pearl street, where about one hundred barrels of turpentine and some rosin were stored. Owing to the combustible character of these, as well as some cotton in the upper floors, the flames spread rapidly, destroying the entire building, but being prevented from extending beyond it by the firemen, who were called out, and jamming and pushing for admittance of the untried outsiders is fierce, as on preceding days of the trial. Counsel for the defence commenced speaking at about eleven o'clock, and continued up to quarter past four, when the court adjourned. The argument for the defence will be concluded to-day.

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Ten stores and four hotels, comprising the bulk of the business portion of the Little town of Shafter, in the Pennsylvania oil regions, and whose existence is a result of the oil trade, were destroyed by a fire, the origin of which is not stated, on Christmas eve. No oil was destroyed, in consequence of the wind being favorable for the safety of the oil platforms. During the excitement attendant on the fire a Mr. Park was shot dead in a quarrel. A fire occurred about noon yesterday at the corner of Broad street and Exchange place, but was extinguished after doing slight damage. Ten stores and four hotels, comprising the bulk of the business portion of the Little town of Shafter, in the Pennsylvania oil regions, and whose existence is a result of the oil trade, were destroyed by a fire, the origin of which is not stated, on Christmas eve. No oil was destroyed, in consequence of the wind being favorable for the safety of the oil platforms. During the excitement attendant on the fire a Mr. Park was shot dead in a quarrel. A fire occurred about noon yesterday at the corner of Broad street and Exchange place, but was extinguished after doing slight damage.

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has, will sail at three o'clock this afternoon for Havana, from New York, at half past one o'clock. The Hamburg ship Newton, Captain Herting, from New York for Hamburg, went ashore at Nantuxet on Sunday night last, and went to pieces in a short time after striking. Every soul on board is supposed to have perished. The United States steamer Memphis arrived at Key West on the 19th inst. from New York, and left on the afternoon of the 14th for the west. According to the City Inspector's report there were 519 deaths in the city during last week, showing an increase of 13 over those of the preceding week, and a decrease of 73 as compared with the corresponding season of 1864. Of the deceased of the past week 207 were children under five years of age. The diseases were—Consumption, 56; convulsions, 37; inflammation of the lungs, 37; bronchitis, 14; scarletina, 18; typhoid fever, 15; typhus fever, 18; diphtheria, 10. The deaths from external causes were 33; in the public institutions, 53. The interments in the Potter's Field were 57. The stock market was dull, but on the whole steady, yesterday. Governments were firm. Gold closed at 145 1/2.

The markets were unusually quiet yesterday, scarcely any business having been consummated. The merchants generally declare that nothing will be done until after New Year's day, and they evidently mean to make their declarations good. Petroleum was dull and almost nominal. Cotton was quiet. Groceries were dull. On 'Change flour was firmer. Wheat was dull but higher. Corn was steady. Oats were nominal. Pork and lard were in sellers' favor under a fair demand. Butter and cheese were lower. Whiskey was dull and nominal. The receipts of beef cattle were unusually light this week, in view of which prices are about 50c per pound better, varying from 10c to 15c, a 140c, with extras on fancy cattle as high as 20c, a 22c. Cows were steady and unchanged. Veals were in fair demand, at from 10c to 14c. Sheep and lambs were in good demand, at about last week's quotations—\$4 to \$5—with fancy offerings at \$10 to \$20. Hogs were in fair demand at advanced prices, ranging from 10c to 11c. The total receipts were 3,481 hogs, 71 cows, 532 veals, 14,435 sheep and lambs and 18,175 hogs.

General Grant's Proposed Visit to the Rio Grande.—The Mexican Question. It is quite positively stated in the political circles at Washington that "General Grant will sail immediately after the holidays in the flagship of the Gulf squadron for the Rio Grande," and in proof of this statement it appears that "Commodore Winslow has sailed in the Champion, via New Orleans, leaving his flagship behind for the General." Accepting this information as authentic, the question recurs, what is the object of this projected visit of General Grant to the Mexican frontier? Going as General-in-Chief of the armies of the United States, he goes upon a military reconnaissance, to learn from actual observation the condition of things on the Mexican border, and, as far as possible, the state of affairs on the other side of the river, between the republic and the empire, and whether General Logan's policy of crossing the Rubicon or the policy of "masterly inactivity" will be best in behalf of the Monroe doctrine.

We know that General Grant is in favor of the removal of Maximilian's establishment from Mexico as an offensive and intolerable usurpation. This was the substance of a little speech of his at a political reception in this city in November last. We know that President Johnson is fixed in the faith of the Monroe doctrine. If General Grant, therefore, after making his projected trip to the Rio Grande, should return to the President with a report suggesting an armed invasion of Mexico as the only alternative left us in reference to Maximilian and his master, Napoleon, and if the President should submit this report to Congress, with a recommendation for immediate action thereon, we dare say that the movement would excite neither surprise nor opposition from the great body of the American people. On the other hand, we have no doubt that the public opinion of the whole country would quickly manifest itself in favor of the enterprise. We dare say, however, that General Grant will go down to the Rio Grande for the purpose of adopting such measures as may operate for the time being rather to maintain the peace of the border than to precipitate a rupture with France; and this, we think, is the purpose and policy of the administration.

"Masterly inactivity," as defined by Calhoun, certainly promises the safest and cheapest settlement of this Mexican difficulty. When the first French republic had expelled from its borders the allied Powers of the continent, and had proved its capacity for aggressive warfare in the first Italian campaigns of Napoleon, it was in a position to maintain itself as the arbiter of Europe. But the expedition sent out under Napoleon to Syria and Egypt was a fatal mistake to the republic. In undertaking to flank the power of England in the East by force of arms the republic stepped beyond its sphere as the propagandist of the rights of the people. As an armed propagandist it naturally gravitated into the hands of a military dictator, and to the inevitable consequences of a rigid military despotism in the name of the empire. Now, as history repeats itself, here is a lesson which history gives us as a warning. The commonwealth of Cromwell affords us another example of the same character.

Unquestionably, if the administration were to resolve upon the forcible expulsion of Maximilian from Mexico, he would be expelled in short order. But the inevitable war with France might, perhaps, involve us in a naval war with England and France. Even from such a struggle we doubt not that the United States would ultimately emerge victorious; but in the meantime the suspension of the world's commerce, and the heavy strain upon our national treasury, would inevitably involve us in all the evils of a financial revolution and universal bankruptcy. Such a war might precipitate a European earthquake, from which kingdoms and empires would go down to rise no more; but such consequences, instead of relieving us, would only widen the disasters and dangers of our financial collapse, with all its accessories of political demoralization and confusion. Could we, under such a pressure, escape the fate of the French republic and its assignats?

If it upon statesmanship, and not upon arms, that we may now most wisely depend for the removal of the French usurpation from Mexico. In that experiment of a Latin balance of power on this continent Louis Napoleon has become the owner of a costly elephant. We can dispossess him to-day or to-morrow; but we have only to hold the rod of the Monroe doctrine over him in order to constrain him to abandon his elephant. Without our recognition he is in a state of insecurity which must render futile all his efforts to make Mexico pay expenses. He is weakened while we are strengthening from every day's continuance of a policy of "masterly inactivity." It costs us nothing to wait, while the uncertainties of this state of peace hold him to the expenses of a costly foreign war in vain and money. This explains

the policy which the administration has thus far pursued in reference to Mexico; and as the President has told us in his regular message that "at the proper time" the correspondence in relation to Mexico will be laid before Congress, we are satisfied that his hints upon the Monroe doctrine mean that negotiations are pending which involve the quiet withdrawal of Maximilian from an experimental empire, which, with the downfall of Jeff. Davis, is confessed a failure.

The formation of a new political party in this or any other country is always accomplished for the purpose of enforcing certain avowed theories, incorporating into the administration of the government particular dogmas, or to correct existing abuses. The purposes aimed at are invariably proclaimed at the birth of the party, or rather at the first public gathering of its godfathers, when the child is christened and placed before the public for recognition and support. This feature was peculiarly manifest with the present republican party in its youthful days. That political organization was brought into existence in 1856. The sponsors who gathered at Pittsburgh, Pa., in the early part of that year, to name the political child and announce its future creed, adopted a positive policy and a fixed faith which it should be held to in its career when it reached manhood. The party was then in possession of all its youthful purity, never having lost its virtue of infancy by contamination with the temptations of the political world. On this august occasion the sponsors, who had watched over it and pledged themselves to become responsible for its career, announced that the great cardinal principles for its guide were the overthrowing in this country of the "twin relics of barbarism—slavery and polygamy."

Under those pledges and under that faith the party was christened, and went forth asking for public favor and support. A little over nine years have elapsed, and we find the virtuous child of that day grown to full manhood, and in possession of the general government. It has now the power to put the creed of its infancy into full force. In fact, it has already accomplished a portion of its mission, as then announced. Slavery has been abolished; but it yet remains to be seen what it will do with polygamy, the other portion of its creed. The little band of polygamists gathered on the Western plains under the cloak of the Latter Day Saints have grown into quite a multitude while the party has been engaged in disposing of slavery. In fact, the developments in our courts lead to the conclusion that the practical Mormons are not all in Utah, but have found their way to the City of Churches, and that polygamy is also practiced there under the cloak of religion, as well as at Salt Lake City. The sponsors of the republican party, in order to make their pledges good in reference to the second great evil which they announced their intention to remove, will now not only be obliged to look after the Brigham Youngs in the region of the Salt Lake, but the Strongs near the salt sea. The rebellion furnished the republicans with an excellent yet unlooked for opportunity to dispose of slavery. Do not the present high prices present the opportune moment to settle polygamy?

The faith of the party was just as strongly pledged at its christening to put down the latter as the former. The decree having gone forth that no man should have but one wife of his own, or anybody's else, we now call upon the party to make its promises good. Unless this is done the public will consider that its purity of infancy has departed, and that the temptations of the political world have destroyed its virtue. How the party will accomplish this portion of its mission and enforce this part of its creed we are unable to see, nor is it our purpose to suggest. We simply take the fact as it exists, that the godfathers of the party have promised that they would overthrow Mormonism in this country, and content ourselves with calling attention to the fact that the pledge has not been made good as yet. Slavery has been destroyed, and that work is now off their hands. Now what do they propose to do with the Mormons? This is the question that the party has to deal with now, or abandon that article of its creed. Anti-polygamy, instead of anti-slavery, must therefore be its party shibboleth. The task will no doubt be a difficult one, and put the high priest of the organization to the severest test. A set of men who can manage a hundred wives must possess the genius to accomplish almost anything in defense of their rights. It is considered a mark of great ability for a man to manage one wife in these times; what, then, must be the capacity of a man who, like Brigham Young, manages one hundred or more? Such men must possess a genius far beyond any other class of the present age, and equal to that of David and Solomon of old. It is said that a man will perform wonders in defense of his wife; must we not expect, therefore, that their exploits in this line will increase just in ratio to the number of wives which they have? In this view must we not look for miraculous deeds on the part of the Mormons? We throw out these general ideas for the consideration of the republican party. The public have for some time puzzled themselves over the solution of this question of polygamy, and not a few are looking with foreboding in regard to it in the future. They realize the dangers of separating man and wife in ordinary cases, and cannot but anticipate great convulsions when you come to separate the men of a whole community from wives by the score. Abolition of slavery is one thing, but the overthrowing of polygamy is quite another. The question very naturally arises, is there in the combined talent of the republican party genius enough to successfully handle this subject? This point will have to be settled before we can tell whether this party has accomplished its mission or not. It may be that we shall be obliged to raise up another party for the special purpose of dealing with the Mormons before we can get rid of the evil. In the meantime we await patiently the developments of the republican managers, to see whether their virtue remains unimpaired or not, as well as to ascertain whether they are opposed to or have become converts to the creed of the so-called Latter Day Saints, and thus repudiate their youthful vows.

JUSTICE TO OUR DISCHARGED SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.—A petition is in circulation appealing to Congress for the passage of an act granting bounties to discharged soldiers in proportion to what was given to those who enlisted dur-

ing the latter period or in the last year of the war. This is but a simple act of justice to the brave men who stood by the Union in the most trying period, and we hope Congress will speedily grant the prayer of the petitioners, and thereby afford timely relief to many brave and worthy men. There are a few other points, while treating on the subject of bounties, that also demand the attention of Congress. There is no good reason why United States sailors should not receive government bounties. They fought well and won deserved laurels by their heroic conduct during the war, and are entitled to the nation's gratitude. This cannot be better displayed than in allowing them a few hundred dollars by way of extra pay. The petty officers of the navy are also entitled to the consideration of Congress. They are generally poor men, with families, and holding a semi-official position in the service is evidence that it was owing to some particular personal merit they were so placed. These petty officers deserve some consideration according to time of service and duties performed. It is well known that the promised government bounty of one hundred dollars to soldiers was never paid in full to those who were discharged before the expiration of their terms of service. It looks like meanness in the government to "dock" a poor private soldier twenty-five or thirty dollars because he has not had a chance to carry out his contract with the government to serve for a year in consequence of his discharge in the interval. The matter of appointing discharged soldiers to clerkships in the departments is one especially deserving the attention of Congress, and should be immediately taken up. Briefly, the entire subject of seeing that justice is done to those of our army and navy who have honorably served their country and been honorably discharged should be met by Congress in a friendly and liberal spirit, and, if necessary, made the business of a special committee. If such a committee should be appointed we will send to them some able documents, emanating from soldiers and sailors themselves, touching their grievances, which will no doubt tend to enlighten the committee and post them fully in regard to particulars.

A Great Movement for Universal Suffrage.—We have received from a committee of ladies the following note, with the accompanying document:—

MR. BROWN.—Will you publish the enclosed petition, with such commentary as you may deem fit, in your circulating throughout the country, to be presented as soon as Congress shall reassemble. In behalf of the National W. R. (Woman's Rights) Committee. E. C. ADY STANTON, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, LUCY STONE.

The following is a copy of the petition above mentioned:—

THE HISTORY OF A NATION IS GRAND OR contemptible according to the spirit of its people. The greatest Asiatic nation has no history but the record of the succession and downfall of dynasties—a record, as Hume has said of a certain portion of English history, "of as little moment to the world at large as would be a description of the skirmishes of crows and kites." The same is true of nearly all the Orient, from the Red Sea to the Sarghassian, in modern times; and it was equally so in antiquity, the prospect only changing as we approach the confines of Europe and begin to lose sight of the progression of princes an priests, and to get glimpses of the people. Single cities in Greece and Italy have grander story than whole empires in Asia. Compare Athens, Argo, Corinth, Syracuse, Rome or Florence with any baker's dozen of Eastern empires, past or present. As we see the distinction between Europe and Asia according to the appearance or non-appearance of the people, so in Europe we see the distinction between the several cities and nations as the people are more or less predominant, hold and free. We see the European shores of the Mediterranean, once the seat of political power, become insignificant as the people sink under the rule of popes and dukes and we see Western Europe, as it throw down its tyrant rulers, rise into prime importance, until England and France become more to the world than all the rest of Europe together. In our own country—in the greatness of the recent war—we see the extreme consequence of this when the people are made no paramount merely, but the only recognized source of power in the nation. Through this history of the world there are no four years that exhibit such a tremendous concentration of energy—such a direct and single purpose—such a straightforward progress of events from first to last. And this war packing into Presidential term more and greater event than would fill thirty years' of war in Europe shows conclusively how incomparably grand is national history when it deals with the life of a proud and brave people than when it recites only the acts of kings and their puppets.

It is the same in the other facts that make up the life of a nation as in politics and war. Literature and art also reach their highest development only where they feel the full influence of the national character as it comes fresh from the people. There they are true, original, great. Under all other circumstances they are trammelled, narrow, conventional and mean. The old wisdom which called the voice of the people the voice of God recognized that there could be no littleness in any utterance which had its inspiration from a whole nation and declared the general thought of all. So in art if it has the popular spirit it always expresses grand ideas in a worthy style; it treats the simple, splendid themes of nature in the spirit of truth. The voice of the people is the voice of God in art as in life. But if art has any lower inspiration—if it recognizes only a tawdry as its fountain—if it ministers only to the elegance of a court—it treats pitiful themes in the fanciful dialects of the polite classes. It is the slave of fashion. It is no longer Prometheus, but only Harlequin. It does not handle celestial fire to awake the envy of demigods, but only plays with a wooden lath to win the admiration of the pigmies in the pit. It reflects, copies, mimics the accidents of an artificial life. Go through a costumer's and you can pick out every age of the so-called elegant world—every brilliant court by the cut of its doublet; go through the galleries and you may do the same with the major part of the pictures. The painter was as conventional as the tailor. But in medieval Italy, where the vitality of the people was concentrated in art, we find the men and women of Raphael to be superior to the changes of fashion, and the lines of Michael Angelo to be those on which the universe is made. Go to the marble remnants of free Greece, and we find not Achans or Dorians, but the demi-gods of the human race. And all this is in despite of the small notion that an aristocracy, and a consequent concentration of wealth, is necessary for the growth of art. An aristocracy of wealth encourages art in a

some small politicians made a great noise over slavery. Each being anxious to hear his sweet voice, and moreover to make all Kentucky hear it, every one tried to outbawl his neighbor. Slavery, they said, was a reserved right. It was above the constitution, and there was no power in the land competent to destroy it. Going on step by step these little Kentucky politicians rose to a very ridiculous height, and came to the grand conclusion that it was an outrage to make anything a part of the constitution that Kentucky had not agreed to. But the world went around just the same and even the country did not stand still after this grand conclusion. Worse than all, the constitutional amendment did not stand still State after State gave in its adhesion, though all must have heard of the disgust of the little fellows in Kentucky; and finally the Secretary of State declared formally that the amendment was part of the constitution. Since that time the men of the Kentucky Legislature have not been heard from. What will they do? Declare their independence and have a little war about it? Not at all. Slavery will die and make no sign there as elsewhere. The little fellows will submit like their neighbors, and immediately hand up some other subject on which to make a noise and keep themselves before the people.

The same farce thus played by the Kentucky politicians is played all over the country. It is what the small politicians live by. In all the States and all the political circles in the House of Representatives and in the Senate it is kept up. From Wendell Phillips and Steven through the radical party, and from the little Kentuckians through their party, it is the same. The small politicians everywhere scream tremendously over their chosen measures, trying their best to make the country believe that it is the adoption of those measures lies the only salvation. It is nigger suffrage—or some other suffrage—specie payments, slavery or abolition, no matter what. And while the small politicians roar and rage and fume the country goes on quietly in its grand progress, that great common sense of the nation sweeps the little politicians aside into obscurity, and by and by they even wonder themselves that the people ever had the patience to listen to their nonsense. Just as the little Kentucky chaps have been squelched by the grand decision of the country, so will be all the small politicians who are trying to make themselves heard and kicking up such a dust in Congress.

The Development of Art in America—Our Painters and Sculptors. The history of a nation is grand or contemptible according to the spirit of its people. The greatest Asiatic nation has no history but the record of the succession and downfall of dynasties—a record, as Hume has said of a certain portion of English history, "of as little moment to the world at large as would be a description of the skirmishes of crows and kites." The same is true of nearly all the Orient, from the Red Sea to the Sarghassian, in modern times; and it was equally so in antiquity, the prospect only changing as we approach the confines of Europe and begin to lose sight of the progression of princes an priests, and to get glimpses of the people. Single cities in Greece and Italy have grander story than whole empires in Asia. Compare Athens, Argo, Corinth, Syracuse, Rome or Florence with any baker's dozen of Eastern empires, past or present. As we see the distinction between Europe and Asia according to the appearance or non-appearance of the people, so in Europe we see the distinction between the several cities and nations as the people are more or less predominant, hold and free. We see the European shores of the Mediterranean, once the seat of political power, become insignificant as the people sink under the rule of popes and dukes and we see Western Europe, as it throw down its tyrant rulers, rise into prime importance, until England and France become more to the world than all the rest of Europe together. In our own country—in the greatness of the recent war—we see the extreme consequence of this when the people are made no paramount merely, but the only recognized source of power in the nation. Through this history of the world there are no four years that exhibit such a tremendous concentration of energy—such a direct and single purpose—such a straightforward progress of events from first to last. And this war packing into Presidential term more and greater event than would fill thirty years' of war in Europe shows conclusively how incomparably grand is national history when it deals with the life of a proud and brave people than when it recites only the acts of kings and their puppets.

It is the same in the other facts that make up the life of a nation as in politics and war. Literature and art also reach their highest development only where they feel the full influence of the national character as it comes fresh from the people. There they are true, original, great. Under all other circumstances they are trammelled, narrow, conventional and mean. The old wisdom which called the voice of the people the voice of God recognized that there could be no littleness in any utterance which had its inspiration from a whole nation and declared the general thought of all. So in art if it has the popular spirit it always expresses grand ideas in a worthy style; it treats the simple, splendid themes of nature in the spirit of truth. The voice of the people is the voice of God in art as in life. But if art has any lower inspiration—if it recognizes only a tawdry as its fountain—if it ministers only to the elegance of a court—it treats pitiful themes in the fanciful dialects of the polite classes. It is the slave of fashion. It is no longer Prometheus, but only Harlequin. It does not handle celestial fire to awake the envy of demigods, but only plays with a wooden lath to win the admiration of the pigmies in the pit. It reflects, copies, mimics the accidents of an artificial life. Go through a costumer's and you can pick out every age of the so-called elegant world—every brilliant court by the cut of its doublet; go through the galleries and you may do the same with the major part of the pictures. The painter was as conventional as the tailor. But in medieval Italy, where the vitality of the people was concentrated in art, we find the men and women of Raphael to be superior to the changes of fashion, and the lines of Michael Angelo to be those on which the universe is made. Go to the marble remnants of free Greece, and we find not Achans or Dorians, but the demi-gods of the human race. And all this is in despite of the small notion that an aristocracy, and a consequent concentration of wealth, is necessary for the growth of art. An aristocracy of wealth encourages art in a

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